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EDITED BY

Paul Crane SJ

VOLUME 7

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Footling Performance

THE EDITOR

BY one of those rather strange coincidences, which come into all our lives, I was discussing the pros and cons of a tax on employment only a few days before the last Budget. My friend and I were agreed that a payroll tax would serve as an excellent instrument if levied on selected manufacturing and heavy industries with a view to improving their efficiency. This is, at present, essential. It is known to every intelligent observer that, in Britain at present, much labour is underemployed, whilst a certain amount of its skilled variety is hoarded in this sense, that, during slack periods, it is kept on at full rates of pay by employers who do not want to lose it. These are two obvious reasons accounting for the present tightness of the labour market and the progressive inflationary thrutch thereby imparted to the economy.

One way of preventing labour from being squandered in this fashion would be to place a weekly tax on its use in certain carefully selected industries. It would become, thereby, more expensive to use, with the result that employers would use it more economically. At the same time, a tendency would be set in motion towards the substitution of machines for men, as always happens when labour becomes more expensive. The consequence would be an improvement in efficiency, due to the fact that labour

in industries subject to payroll tax would have more horsepower behind it. The end-result would be the first beginnings of what this country must have if it is to survive economically, an increase in the rate of productivity; in the amount, that is, produced by a man in an hour, a day or any other measurable period of working time you may choose to select. For want of this increase, we are at present living on tick to the tune of approximately £900,000,000 borrowed at short-term and then reborrowed from the rest of the world to help us buy from abroad the things we want, but for a great part of which we are not prepared to pay with extra goods produced as a result of improved efficiency at home. At the moment, therefore, we are trying to have our cake and eat it; enjoy a higher standard of living, whilst others pay for it. Under the circumstances, we may be termed quite fairly a nation of layabouts and confidence men; not merely a second-class power, but a second-rate people. A payroll tax of the type just described would be a move, at least, in the right direction; a sign, amongst other things, of the remote first beginnings on our part of an endeavour to recover our integrity. So, my friend and I concluded a few days before the Budget.

When, in the evening of Budget Day, I read that a payroll tax would be levied, I was, naturally enough, rather pleased. I was not at all pleased next morning, when I read the papers and learnt the truth. The tax would indeed be levied, but in such a way as to have, on balance, the opposite effect to that which my friend and I and, I venture to say, any sane man anywhere would want it to have. In the manufacturing industries, the net effect of the new tax, in rebate form, is to put a premium on the inefficient deployment of labour — to pay employers to retain it—and to postpone, thereby, that more intensive use of machinery, which is essential to increased productivity and, ultimately, the international solvency of this nation.

Mr. Callaghan's Budget has not checked Britain's drift to spivvery. It has served on balance to increase it.

As Pius XII said the Church is too wise to discourage or belittle the peculiarities which mark out one nation from another. "Every nation has its own genius, its own qualities, springing up from the hidden roots of its being." That genius ought to be encouraged 'within limits'. Any action which impairs the rights of others is bad.

Nation, State and Race

H. W. J. EDWARDS

Emotive Word

"RACISM" is a grave error. Unfortunately, we tend to use words like "racism" emotively. For example, the word 'nationalism' is used pejoratively in order to denounce xenophobia or chauvinism or even imperialism; it is then used in some 'good' sense in order to cheer on the colonial peoples who are said to be struggling to free themselves from a European imperium. Even at home, that is, in Europe, one 'nationalism' is ipso facto felt to be bad and another said to be good. For example, Danish 'nationalism' is felt to be good and German 'nationalism' felt to be bad. Sometimes you have to listen to the undertones of the user e.g. when he speaks of Irish 'nationalism'. Usually, the speaker aids us by adding such a word as 'narrow' or pits the 'nationalism' against an allegedly cruel rule of aliens.

If the Catholic Church occasionally uses the word 'nationalism' in the bad sense, it is equally clear that she does not condemn what I shall call moderate nationalism. If there be doubt, paragraphs 169-184 of *Mater et Magistra* will remove it. Paragraph 181 is worth quoting in full since it repeats the words of Pius XII taken from *Summi Pontificatus*.

Just defence of Nations

"The Church of Jesus Christ is the repository of His

wisdom; she is certainly too wise to discourage or belittle those peculiarities which mark out one nation from another. It is quite legitimate for nations to treat those differences as a sacred inheritance and guard them at all costs. The Church aims at unity, a unity determined and kept alive by that supernatural love which should be actuating everybody; she does not aim at a uniformity which would only be external in its effects and which would cramp the natural tendencies of the nations concerned. Every nation has its own genius, its own qualities, springing up from the hidden roots of its being. The wise development, the encouragement *within limits*, of that genius, those qualities, does no harm; and if a nation cares to take precautions, to lay down rules, for that end, it has the Church's approval. She is mother enough to befriend such projects with her prayers." Here is strong encouragement indeed to 'nationalists', who, however, must notice the important words, 'within limits' which I have put in italics. It ought to go without saying that means must be proportionate to ends and that the kind or degree of action which impairs the rights of other nations is bad.

Chesterton on false "Internationalism"

Most people today seem intent on urging a false antithesis—"nationalism" versus "internationalism".

In his slight but valuable book, *The Catholic Church and Conversion*, G. K. Chesterton made what I believe was a most illuminating commentary upon the curious errors of excess and defect among his fellow-countrymen upon this subject.

"After a lifetime I have begun to realise what a worthy Liberal or Socialist of Balham or Battersea really means when he says that he is an Internationalist and that humanity should be preferred to the narrowness of nations. It dawned on me quite suddenly after I had talked to such a man that he had really been brought up to believe that God's Englishmen were the Chosen Race. When I realised that, I realised the whole story. That was why he and his fellows were excited by the exceedingly dull theory of the internationalist. That was why the brotherhood of nations

which was to me a truism was to him a trumpet. That was why it seemed such a thrilling paradox to say that we must love foreigners: it had in it the divine paradox that we must love enemies. That was why the Internationalist was always planning deputations and visits to foreign capitals and heart-to-heart talks and hands across the sea . . . Now a Catholic, especially a 'born' Catholic, can never understand that attitude because from the first his whole religion is rooted in the unity of the race of Adam, the one and only Chosen Race. He is loyal to his own country; indeed he is generally ardently loyal to it . . . The Catholic says, 'Of course we must love all men; but what do all men love? They love their lands, their lawful boundaries, the memories of their fathers.' That is the justification of being national, that it is normal."

Scruples and Guilt

As G.K.C. showed later, the English Protestant often reacts from what is not really patriotism but rather a species of xenophobia laced with jingoism to a dull cosmopolitanism. In this reaction we may discern scrupulosity and a morbid sense of guilt.

It is the special job of pastors to detect scruples and to treat the scrupulous. I know about this because as a convert from a radical-Protestant constituency I have plenty of scruples even if I have learned to live with them.

I write as a birth-right Quaker who for many years was in a favourable position to notice how this scrupulosity and morbidity work upon liberal Protestant Christian minds. The Quakers were perhaps the first of the Christian sects after the Change of Religion to be "concerned" with the plight of the negro slaves. The Quaker "concern" ("concern" is a favourite word among Quakers) merits our unstinted acclaim and Catholics should especially notice that it arose from the Quaker conviction that there was a divine light in every soul—a Catholic doctrine indeed, even if it was treated one-sidedly by Quakers. After all, it is akin to Chesterton's saying that Adam's Race is the Chosen Race.

In the early days of their settlements in the American

colonies, the Quakers were also concerned about the indigenous population. But in common with many other conscientious Christians they tended to forget the Indians or rather to devote their reforming energies chiefly to the condition of the negroes.

Expansionism versus Rights

It is a fact very well worth pondering upon that the Tory opponents of Washington and his fellow rebels constantly asked for assurances that the lands of the Indian beyond the mountain divide should not be settled by adventurous colonists. As we look upon the decades that followed the Declaration of Independence, we see not only that the rights of man were interpreted as the rights of "White" colonists but that benevolent liberals began to call for the rights of negroes without being at all bothered about the policy of apartheid practised against the Indians. It remains that a policy of apartheid is practised extensively in the U.S.A. and in Canada against Indians with little in the way of protest from liberals and integrationists.

Here is one tragic result of that scrupulosity and morbidity which produces a selective regard for negroes. Justice to Indians was not and is not felt to be in the same category as justice towards negroes. After all, the former had fought fiercely for their patrimony and had slain many invaders. They were somehow felt to be "equal" but defeated. Punishment might well be their lot. Moreover, as long as they remained a strong force, they were impeding some supposed "destiny" of the "White" or Western peoples. The negroes were so dependent upon the "Whites" that they could be "educated" into "White" ways.

Now I come to think of it, one may see a not so dissimilar selective judgment towards different races in Africa. When I was a boy, I became very friendly with a young Yoruba from western Nigeria. But soon afterwards I met some Hausas from northern Nigeria. I dare say that most people would see little difference between the two races. But I was at once aware of a great and important difference. It is not merely a difference of ethnic race, though that

must be noticed, especially among those Hausas who have some Fulani blood, but a difference arising from the possession by the Hausas of an Islamic culture.

A half century ago, it would be true to say that the negroes proper of Nigeria were still "savages" as common usage may permit us to say, while the Hausas were men of a culture, perhaps of the sort that Spengler called Magian. But the Hausas have contrived to remain within the sphere of their culture while the former "savages" have become adept chelas of Western Man. It appears, then, that the Iboe and Yoruba have "progressed". Moreover, some who know that the Hausas were once slave-traders may tend to have some obscure preference for the negroes of the south and feel that the Hausas may as well be left until they can no longer withstand "progress".

A false racial Image

But this distinction between two groups of peoples in a former English colony enables us to put by the false image of the African as negro or, at the most, a negroid. I am not here going to make any great distinction between the negroes proper (of the equatorial lands of West Africa) and, say, Bantu of the south-east. It will suffice here if I group together a number of African races who, more wrongly than rightly, we call "black men", and then distinguish them from the several non-black races. I ought to add that the pigmy and the Bushman have always been victims of negroes and Bantu.

Outside the regions inhabited by these "blacks" are several races which cannot be called "black". They include the descendants of Punic colonists on the shores of the Mediterranean, the ancient Copts of Egypt, the Arabs and other nomadic peoples of the Sahara, the Berbers of the Atlas among whom I especially mention the Kabyle, who are often blue-eyed, the copper-skinned Fulani (cattle drovers who once conquered Nigeria), and the Amharic population of the plateau region of Ethiopia. I am not concerned with a number of immigrants from Asia who are badly called "coloured", as if we were not all "coloured".

If we bear a sense of guilt towards many of the indigenous peoples of Africa, this ought not so to paralyse our intelligence as to allow ourselves to ignore the aggression of several indigenous African peoples against other African peoples. Advancing Bantu over-ran the regions of the further south and slaughtered the pacific natives. Moreover, the march of the Bantu was going on when the first Dutch colonists were well settled on the Cape. Sentimentalists who talk about such and such territory belonging inalienably to the Bantu rather than Africaans-speaking Dutch either do not know the facts or else do not want to know them. It is much the same with the Amharic people. Despite the fact that 3 million of them are Christians (mostly of the Monophysite creed), they have long practised slavery. Many of their slaves were "black" peoples over whom the Amharic emperors ruled in a Byzantine tradition which liberal idealists contrive to put from their minds. It is almost a subject for laughter that one of the men who aims to lead the African towards what liberals fancy is "democracy" is the last of the world's emperors.

St. Augustine and 'Nations'

When I became a Catholic, I chose St. Augustine, an African, as my patron. I am sure he was not a negro. I toy with the fancy that he had a dose of Punic blood in him. Augustine declare that the Church was "at home" among "all nations". But this oft-quoted statement may very easily be misread because in his day "the nations" were merely "peoples" (*gentes*). Augustine had no conception of that product of European history, the nation. In this connection I believe it worth while to cite a valuable little aid by that great Byzantine Catholic, Vladimir Soloviev, who held that the nation in the strict sense was a product of European history. He felt that such an entity was not merely exotic to other histories but would not become acclimatised. In spite of appearances, he may have been right. Yet even in Europe the nation as a work of art and of time—to quote Disraeli—developed in the north rather than in the south.

In the north the sense of nationality moulded states. In the south the state reached its categorical form before the coming of such a sense. In the south (often regarded as the "Latin" part) the emphasis is on "state". In the north it is on "folk". That is partly why such states as France and Spain repress minorities (as they are regarded by the state) like Basques and Catalans and Bretons. That is why Denmark gives special privileges to the Faroese, why Holland gives special educational autonomy to the Frisians and why England behaves as if she is in two minds in such matters. English law still contains the act which demanded the extirpation of Welsh, yet the educational syllabus for Wales includes the teaching of Welsh.

From time to time I have read articles in English which force me to try and guess in what sense 'nation' is used in one paragraph or in another. The phrase "the state of the nation" in the United States seems to mean "the state of the state", and, as I have hinted, the words, United Nations, really mean United states—of the world understood. Some nations have their reflection in states. Some states reflect no nations.

Race in Historical Terms

The nation considered as a work of art and of time is nothing if it is not to some extent founded upon race. I do not mean some "pure" ethnic race, which some believe does not exist (though I may be permitted to doubt that). Whether the "race" is ethnically pure is not here in question. When Chesterton wrote, "I do not understand Welshmen and I think that the great majority of Englishmen have no notion of the Welsh type, whatever it is," he was calling attention to what, after all, we know something about, namely, the existence of a national type, which is the product of a variety of causes among which is this "race" considered within history.

Welshmen are of several racial types considered outside history.

They include the swarthy Iberian like several of our talented Rugby players, notably Cliff Morgan, some of our politicians such as James Griffiths and George Thomas and

some of our great singers such as Geraint Evans. Some are blondes like the president of the Nationalist Party, Gwynfor Evans. Others are broad-headed types like Aneurin Bevan. Then there are the descendants of Vikings like the crowned bard John Eilian. There is a strange little band of red-haired folk near Bala.

All the same, the Englishmen see beyond these ethnic races to an historical "race" which is, at least vis-à-vis the English, homogeneous. Idle to show that there is little difference between the Scots, Irish, Welsh and English in nigrescence and cephalic indices: It is not long before the ordinary man becomes aware of the impact of nationality on nationals.

Now the notion that there is something wrong about this impact, that something ought to be done to rectify it, and that the desire of nations is that there should be no nations has become in our day taken as a great truth which must be preached on all sides. Those who believe this "truth" would be irritated at de Maistre's description of the people of Savoy in his spirited defence of Savoy independence. "Une nation immiscible" the new gossellers would say, must not be permitted to exist, if indeed it exists. When de Maistre calls attention to Savoy's singleness of language, character and geographical disposition, integrationists I have talked to on the subject betray their indifference to what is already integral. Indeed, just as Poland was partitioned, apparently destroyed and then came to life, so, for all we know, Savoy will become integrated once more but not, of course, with the help of integrationists.

Nordic Nonsense

I have always had a great sympathy for the large number of people who, reacting from the evil and blundering talk of various "white supremacy" fanatics such as the Nazis, feel that the only possible answer is that of ignoring race altogether. There is no doubt that when the Catholic Church condemns racism, she has especially in mind this evil and stupid doctrine of White superiority and supremacy, although, of course, the condemnation would hit any race that talked about superiority and supremacy. Implicitly

the Church rejects the lesser yet still grievously bad doctrines of some Protestant fundamentalists in, say, South Africa, that "coloured" peoples, notably Bantu, are destined by God to be the servants of European whites. It is only fair to say that these fundamentalists at their best would be kind to such "servants" and would have a great concern for their salvation. They would never regard them as "sub-humans".

Dr. Robert Gayre in an issue of *Mankind Quarterly* has shown that negroes and other "black" peoples tend to excel "whites" in six different fields of which I recall a sense of community, a sense of rhythm, certain athletic feats and resilience to misfortune. To talk, then, about racial inferiority is at best to be thinking only about those fields in which Whites tend to excel. If I may generalise, I suspect that Whites show superiority in various ratiocinative tasks. But I do no more than guess.

The right to Discriminate

On the other hand, there is much to be said for "discrimination". We all discriminate. We choose our friends and acquaintances. If we must try to love all men, we find ourselves liking some men. The virtue of pietas demands a certain selection. It will not do to quote that pet text of cosmopolitans: "In Christ there is neither Jew nor Gentile". St. Paul also tells us that in Christ there is neither male nor female", but no one supposes that "in Christ" sexual distinctions have disappeared.

The meaning is plain. If I go to mass and then find myself kneeling at the altar rails with people of very different races, I am aware, I hope, of the universal character of the church. My Quaker upbringing makes me well aware of the special contributions that women may make, for the Quakers have always given equality in ministry to women. I think I would now qualify this pious feminism. I know that occasionally the Church produces a Teresa of Avila and a Catherine of Siena and a Joan of Arc; but the work of women in the Church, though equal to that of men, has not been properly explored. We have let ourselves think of feminine emancipation in masculine terms just as we

tend to think of the emancipation of negroes in western European terms.

The pauline text does not mean that I must do an ostrich act and pretend not to notice the magnificent chocolate-coloured skin of a "black" man. I hope that he does not pretend that I am not a Dirty Pink Man. Whether I may hope to convert others to this point of view may depend upon whether their apparent solicitude for non-European races really proceeds from a true concern for their total being, a being not to be regarded as proto-European.

Educating "Lesser Breeds"

Kindly-disposed people often talk about "educating" non-Europeans, especially negroes and other Africans, by which they evidently mean Europeanising them. The circumstance that certain non-Europeans became chelas of Europeans and were given European educations is misleading. These non-Europeans have long been missioning the general European "way of life," as it has been told them, to their own folk, but whether the end product will be what Europeans would recognise is another matter. For example, a number of newly-composed African states have been given paper constitutions of a democratic type which, when interpreted, develop into tyrannous republics with here and there a touch of the Divus Caesar (e.g. the ruler of Ghana).

Some Africans seem to be aware of this. For example, an African named Gyebi-Ofusu writing in the New Radical, a Cambridge University journal, questions whether the westernisation of African cultures is progress for Africans. He questions whether human progress is equivalent to westernisation. I am tempted to question whether we ought to talk about "human progress" as if the peoples of the world were within the same historical stream.

Leaning over Backwards

When I have mentioned several of such criticisms to "progressively-minded" people, I have as good as been told that, even if I am right, any free dissemination of such views may lead to the building up of strength for the very

people I criticise as much as I criticise cosmopolitans. This comment reminds me that in this as well as in other matters there is a real if hidden censorship of liberal provenance. Mr. George Lundberg in his presidential address to the Sociological Research Association of 1952 told his audience that, when he presented to the editor of a leading journal of opinion certain analyses on the subject of race, the editor said: "Regardless of the logic and the facts we must lean over backwards in the special cases before us since a more realistic view would be seized upon by the prejudiced as a vindication of their hostility (to integration). Any aid or comfort to this group is in the direction of Hitlerism". This "leaning over backwards" just will not do, and it comes very ill from those people who proclaim their intention to lean over forwards. If it ever becomes known that facts are being suppressed, then indeed the racists as opposed to the moderate racilists will shout, "I told you so".

Bad reasons for good Conduct

Of course, ordinary people, who have the right to belong to a given community which they recognise as "this" rather than "that" (and such recognition involves a reasonable element of racial homogeneity), do not always give good reasons for right judgements. The so-called "integrationists" are easily able to hit for six the common arguments used by ordinary folk who try to defend their acts of choice. For example, ordinary folk assert that dark-skinned aliens are "illiterate". Even if they are, it is not a good reason. Alas, they also may be taught to read and write.

A serious controversy continues about the potentialities of the American Negro in education, that is western type education. Since the advent of Clark's *Prejudice and your Child*, which persuaded many American politicians towards a policy of integration, new criticisms have arrived such as a very carefully worded one by Dr. James Gregor who argues that segregation does not, after all, produce moral conflicts and that "integration", which he more accurately calls "congregation", will not ameliorate the mean dif-

ferences between negroes and whites. Once again we meet the emotive word. "Integration" has certainly become one. I am not by any means interested in "integration" if, in effect, this means the assimilation of one group by another. I am a separatist because I am sure that those integrationists who call themselves Unionists do not want to conserve either my nation or their own. They have yet to learn that England Plus is really England Minus.

Some common Objections

Some anthropologists have been trying hard to rid us of the word 'race'. They believe that the word has no referent or that, while characteristics and differences constituting the referent of the word 'race' do exist, they are not significant. They suffer from the semantic delusion that, if you get rid of a word, you get rid of what the word stands for. They will argue that though people of different ethnic races have different hair textures, noses, cephalic indices et cetera, they are all able to do essential tasks—as if anyone had supposed the contrary.

If the ethnic characteristics have no essential relationship to such common tasks, as characteristics of groups they are essential either as individual traits or in configuration in accounting for selective association, prejudice, or what word you like to use to describe taste.

Such critics believe that a state may "outlaw" 'race prejudice'. Soviet Russia "outlawed" it; but by several accounts it remains, especially anti-jewish feeling and, so certain Africans have alleged, prejudice against Africans on educational missions to the Soviet Union. It is known, moreover, that northern Chinese have a sense of "colour" in respect of southern Chinese. Many Englishmen, including those commentators during the last war who satirised Nazi racism, easily fall prey to prejudice about Italians and Spaniards. Many a man who would denounce apartheid in South Africa will sneer at Wops and Dagoes. I dislike such talk, but prejudice is allowable if it be positive, if, that is, it amounts to a preference for our own kith and kin and all those who inherit our own national patrimony.

But other critics hold that racial prejudice is a recent

and by implication superficial development—barely a hundred years old according to two scientists. A UNESCO bulletin puts it at three hundred years. Lord Bryce argued that it did not exist before the French Revolution. In the northern European lands especially the evidence is to the contrary, witness the several collections of laws based upon "folk" (e.g. Sachsenspiegel and Margreve laws). In 1424 the Emperor Sigismund pronounced an arbitration judgment on the region of South Jutland in which he held that it belonged to Denmark because Denmark was "one people and one language". Again, the word Navajo means "the people", which suggests that the Navajo felt that others were "non-people". The same is true of "Arab", and, I believe, "Bantu". It is therefore foolish to agitate against ethnocentrism as if it were a novelty. Probably what the critics dislike are particular patterns of behaviour arising from ethnocentrism, especially when such patterns affect ourselves adversely.

Periodical fits of Morality

Macaulay observed (and Disraeli lifted the entire passage for one of his novels) that there is nothing so ridiculous as the English in one of their periodical fits of morality. In this matter of race and colour, a foreigner as I feel myself to be, sees this clearly. I may feel that the English and the northern American Whites would not find a moral issue in the colour-bar were there not a world lobby interested in the rights of negroes and other Africans. Perhaps a cynic may suggest that, despite the frequent condemnations of "anti-semitism," contempt for the Jews is sometimes found where it is officially execrated. When I was in the English army, my superior officer asked me how I would behave before a Jew. I told him that I would behave as before any member of a race different from mine. I would, that is, treat him as a Jew, just as I would treat a Frenchman as a Frenchman. He mildly reprimanded me. My point of view, he said, led to "anti-semitism". It was well enough to treat a Frenchman as a Frenchman; it was wrong to treat a Jew as a Jew. I am sure that he was wrong and this error is one I am here trying to correct.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

The Church is immersed in the history of humanity. Her understanding of her Master is dependent in good measure on the interplay of societies, of philosophies, of science and of revolutions. She must cherish her insights and reflect on them. Often she will not be able to answer the great problems which haunt men.

People of God

VINCENT ROCHFORD

THE most fundamental document to come out of the Vatican Council is the magnificent one on the Church. Dissatisfaction with the understanding of the Church which history and the needs of defence had forced on us gave rise to uneasiness with the image the world gained of the Church. The whole picture was too institutional, too organisation-conscious. No one can deny that Christ's Church has its institutional side, and it was necessary to stress this truth against the vagueness of Luther and his fellow-Reformers. But the emphasis grew one-sided, equally important truths faded out of people's consciousness, the resultant picture seemed cold and aloof, incapable of firing the imagination with any warmth. So theologians in France and Germany turned back to the Word of God. Whenever traditions grow too static, the cure is always to go back to their sources. So the insight of St. Paul's explanation of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ attracted prominence once again, and was soon inspiring all who were engaged in the apostolate. Little groups of factory-workers, young men of the Y.C.W., were inspired to the struggle in their daily lives to make this truth a reality. Pope Pius XII was to write a world letter on the subject and to single out that name as the most noble one to describe the Church of God.

Still theologians were not content and did not rest. They arrived at a yet more fundamental idea, widely diffused throughout Scripture, one that links Old with New Testament, thus showing the unity of God's plan of salvation, one, moreover, that offers fewer theological difficulties.

Israel a People

It is the concept of the Church as the People of God. This is the concept that runs all the way through the Old Testament. God's whole plan of salvation revolved round the evolution of Abraham's descendants, over the years, into a mob capable of becoming a nation. Not by means of merely natural development, indeed; their welding into unity, their national cohesion through all the internal strains and outside pressures, down through the ages, all this was the Lord's doing. Out in the desert they became the People of God because it was he who had freely chosen them—the most unlikely human material, men who had lived as exiles in an alien culture and had long been serfs, so that the memory of their God, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob had grown dim. Yet it was on them that God's choice fell. He had chosen them, and they had chosen him. "I will be your God, and you will be my people", he had offered them, and they had accepted that offer and ratified it with sacrifice, in blood: they had entered into a covenant with him, as Moses sprinkled them with the sacrificial blood, saying, "This is the blood of the covenant God is making with you". He gave them a constitution under which to live, which was the moral law. They were thus established as a people with a national identity, and indeed God's people, every member of which shared in a common destiny.

The community of Israel was plunged into the maelstrom of history. It was subject to the same influences as other nations, knowing rebellion, royal splendour, hunger, expansion, commercial power, changing alliances, invasion, colonial status. And these changes influenced its religious experience; its understanding of God's plan helped to make Israel what it was when Jesus Christ came among them.

The Church a People

When God's moment arrived to offer humanity a second covenant he proceeded as he had done before: he bound himself to a new chosen people, built a new people for himself, which is also the body of Christ. This is a community of belief and of love that came into being, like the first one, through God's free choice. Each member of it is called by God, whether it were Peter or John, or the writer or reader of these lines, choice of whom was made through the sign of baptism. That community is bound to God by a new covenant, also sealed in sacrifice; not this time in a lamb's blood, but "This is the new testament in my blood", said Our Lord: he himself is the new covenant, the sign of God's union with man, in this case in one Person. The new Israel has its constitution, no longer the moral law, but the law of love, which includes the former but goes far beyond it. And every member is called to share the common destiny of the whole People, to travel through the wilderness of life towards the promised land that lies beyond the Jordan of death: to share in the mystery of fellowship with Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

A Realistic Image

At once we realise that the Church, too, is deeply immersed in human history, and cannot escape its influences. This is a very different idea from that which held the field for so long, a Church transcendent, outside and above the world, teaching the world from above, perfect within herself.

The truth is that our immediate forbears built up an unreal picture of the Church in compensation for the reality that all could see. The eighteenth century was a time of almost unrelieved defeat for the Church. It started with a pope in captivity, French revolutionary ideas spread everywhere, the papal states were lost, much effort was wasted on trying to tie throne and altar together, theology had sunk to a deplorable level. The Church seemed to be in full retreat on all sectors. So we comforted ourselves. Things couldn't *really* be so bad. In fact, in the eyes of the angels her history consisted in one inevitable triumph

after another. The Church we saw then was the Church as she will be at the parousia, when history will have ended and the world be finished, at any rate in its present state.

It was the day to sing

“ Who is she that stands triumphant,
Rock in strength, upon the Rock,
Like some city crowned with turrets
Braving storms and earthquake shock ? ”

Emigrant congregations in their little back-street chapels, the people of the slums with the poor Catholic school nearby, gained new courage as they sang:

“ Hers the kingdom, hers the sceptre,
Fall, ye nations, at her feet; . . . ”

New Understanding

Today, enlightened by the Council, we see the Church in a humbler role. We are realising that she is immersed in the history of humanity, her understanding of her Master dependent in good measure on the interplay of societies, of philosophies, of revolutions, even of science; that this understanding will never be perfect. She must grope, she must cherish her insights and reflect on them; often she cannot answer the great agonising problems which haunt men, so that they come to her for a solution. Claims and pretensions which many of her most vigorous defenders used to make can now be seen as gross exaggerations. Like the first Israel she is heavily marked by history. How much of her ways of looking at things was owed to reaction against the Lutheran revolt ! It is only painfully, with a Council's help and to the consternation of many loyal members that she is recovering her balance and getting her ideas into proportion. She cannot of her nature remain unmarked by the flow of human history; indeed it provokes many a starting point for her theological reflection upon God and on herself.

Every generation is a new chapter in the Church's history. Our task is to decipher the needs of today and bring the Saviour's teaching and grace very humbly to their fulfilment.

CURRENT COMMENT

How is it that in the United States 0.5 per cent of the population owns one quarter of the nation's wealth? The same thing has also been happening in all advanced countries all over the world. "In general, investors, landlords, employers and industrialists have obtained too large a share of the benefits of economic growth."

Industrial Revolution and Property

JOHN FRANCIS MAXWELL

THE world problem of the "haves" and the "have nots" can only be discussed rationally in terms of the public interest. Is it in the public interest that there should be a free-for-all scramble, between individuals, between companies, between nations, for the material wealth of the world? Is it in the public interest that only a minority of individuals, of companies, of nations should benefit from world economic development? Is it in the public interest that the gap between wealthy and poor individuals, wealthy and poor companies, wealthy and poor nations, should be growing progressively wider? Is it in the public interest that between 20 and 30 million people should die every year from undernourishment in the poor countries while there is ample unused agricultural and industrial and labour capacity in the wealthy countries which could supply their economic needs?

Natural human Rights

In judging what is in the public interest any average person would consider spiritual interests besides the basically material ones. For every person is the possessor of spiritual endowments as well as material ones, and he

is endowed with the natural right to use these gifts in accordance with their natural purpose, as well as the natural moral immunity from other persons' infringement of or attack against them. But the higher spiritual interests are dependent upon lower material ones. If a poor person's natural human rights at the material level are unjustly infringed—if he is starving, if he has no private dwelling place, if he has no property or income, then indirectly his higher spiritual rights will also be infringed. For he will be physically incapable of making use of the benefits of religion, education, employment, and law, even if these are offered to him. Yet in other respects the lower material interests are dependent upon higher spiritual ones. For even if a poor person's immediate physical needs in the way of food, clothing, and so on, are temporarily satisfied, but without his higher spiritual needs, including education, being satisfied, then he will remain incapable of continuing to look after his own material interests in a responsible manner.

There is a widespread consensus among all civilised nations today concerning the real existence of these natural human rights and natural moral immunities. Most people should be familiar with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10th December, 1948; some will be familiar also with the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms defined for juridical purposes by the Council of Europe on 4th November, 1950. It is therefore possible to make use of these lists of natural rights and natural moral immunities for the purpose of making a moral judgment as to whether any given positive legislation or human institutions which govern economic affairs are inevitably causing distributive injustice. The rules and criteria for judging whether such legislation or institutions are genuinely in the public interest and in accordance with distributive justice will be capable of receiving widespread acceptance in so far as they make use of the definitions of the above two historic documents.

Five Criteria

Here then are some suggested rules and criteria: First of all, such laws or institutions should not require or favour or permit the deprivation or infringement of natural human rights of any section of the world population. Secondly, such laws or institutions should not inevitably lead to unfair discrimination between different individuals or classes or nations of the world-community. All persons are obviously different in their natural endowments as well as in their natural motivations, and equality in these respects is out of the question. But distributive justice demands not physical but moral and legal equality, that is to say, proportionate distribution and fair shares of material benefits and burdens, as well as reasonable access to spiritual benefits. World society will become unstable if such laws or institutions favour or permit the accumulation of benefits by one section of the population at the expense of or by the infringement of the human rights of another section of the population. It is in the public interest that world and national society should be kept stable.

Thirdly, such laws or institutions should not invert the natural hierarchy of human values by requiring or favouring or permitting spiritual interests to be subordinated to material interests. For example, the spiritual needs of the poorer people in poor countries can only be satisfied if their basic material needs are first satisfied. It is no use trying to teach or preach to starving people. But sometimes it is not profitable for rich people and wealthy companies in rich countries to supply those basic material needs of poor people in poor countries, since the poor people cannot afford to pay the high prices charged in the rich countries for their products; if that is so, then if financial interests alone direct economic activity, those poor people in the poor countries can die of starvation, as they did during the nineteen-fifties. Conversely, sometimes it is profitable for rich people and wealthy companies in rich countries to extract and purchase the primary products of the poor countries, since they can easily afford to pay the low prices charged in the poor countries for their products;

if that is so, then if financial interests alone direct economic activity, the rich people and wealthy companies in rich countries can grow even richer at the expense of the poor countries. The subordination of higher human values to financial values means that national and international society will be corrupted by crass materialism; and this is not in the public interest.

Fourthly, if such laws or institutions restrict or limit natural rights, then the benefit to the whole community should outweigh the harm or disadvantage caused by such restriction. There should be as much freedom as possible, and only as much restriction as is necessary in the public interest. For example it may be necessary to restrict the economic sovereignty of an institution such as an industrial company if this is the only way to secure that its activities shall be in the public and not merely private or sectional interests of its shareholders.

Fifthly such laws or institutions should respect the principle of subsidiarity; this is a matter of legal justice. Authority should be exercised at the lowest level which is in keeping with justice and freedom. For example, if industrial companies are not functioning in the public interest, and if some control over their activities is required, it is not in the public interest that this controlling jurisdiction should be exercised by the central government of the country, if it can be adequately exercised by some lower body intermediate between the government and the industrial companies.

Details not Established

It is not here suggested, of course, that these criteria of natural justice can establish the details of the form of an industrial structure which would be most suited to any particular country. There may be fifty ways of organising the industries of a country, all of which would be consistent with distributive justice. But these rules and criteria can help anyone in making the difficult judgment as to whether and for what reasons any existing industrial structure is at present offending against distributive justice.

In conclusion it must be remembered that even the best

laws and best institutions cannot make people holy or perfect. The law can never make a man 'just', in the ultimate spiritual sense of the word. But good laws and institutions can provide social conditions which are favourable to spiritual growth and material increase; while bad laws and institutions can provide social conditions which can hinder or entirely prevent any such growth and increase.

Fact of National economic Growth

Having established some general moral criteria for judging human positive laws and for judging human institutions such as the industrial corporation or company, one must next establish some facts. The first fact which needs to be recognised is the fact of national economic growth. Historically speaking, economic growth began in Europe as a result of the application on a national scale of mathematics, science and technology to agriculture and industry. The farmer or manufacturer who began to use mechanised methods of production was able to increase the productivity (output per man-hour) of his employees. This substitution of the machine for human muscles led to increased output and increased profits. Part of these profits was retained by the employer for his own consumption mainly of secondary or luxury goods, and part was ploughed back (re-invested) to improve his land or enlarge his capital plant and equipment.

It would appear that the significance of national economic growth was appreciated neither by political economists nor by jurists nor by moral theologians at the beginning of the industrial revolution in Europe. The idea of a national economic growth at a rate of one or more per cent compound per year was not even considered at this period of history by anyone. Yet modern statistics reveal that rates of economic growth at anything up to about 9 per cent compound per year are possible. The industrial revolution in Europe in fact meant a change from the mediaeval static national economy to a dynamically growing national economy.

Economic growth on a national scale means a nation-wide improvement of material capital (land, plant and equip-

ment) leading to nation-wide increase of productivity. When the industrial enterprise became incorporated as a company in the XIXth century, the investor became the beneficial owner of the improved and enlarged tangible fixed assets as well as the beneficiary of increased profits; and he was able to benefit both from the growth in value of his stock or shares and also from distribution of increased dividends.

Statistics of capital Growth

Figures are available today as to the extent and rate of capital growth and of increases in productivity in recent years in the advanced countries of the West. It can be said that the same sort of economic growth, though to a lesser extent and at a slower rate, was taking place at the beginning of the industrial revolution. For example, in the United States, during the ten years between 1947 and 1956, in the corporate sector of the economy alone, the net tangible fixed asset formation amounted to an average of approximately 12 billion dollars' worth of new improvements and enlargements of existing plant and equipment every year. And yet during the same period the existing and new stockholders were only contributing an average of about 2.15 billion dollars every year by way of subscriptions to new issues of stock⁽¹⁾. In other words they were collectively the beneficiaries of gratuitous capital growth to the extent of an average of about 9.85 billion dollars' worth every year.

To take another example, this time from United States direct investment abroad. The book value of investments in branches and subsidiaries of United States corporations abroad increased by about 21 billion dollars in the 10 years from 1951 to 1960, or by an average of about 2.1 billion dollars annually⁽²⁾. And yet new direct investment abroad during these 10 years amounted only to 12½ billion dollars, or an average of about 1.2 billion dollars annually⁽³⁾. And

(1) U.S. Department of Commerce. *Survey of Current Business*, Sept. 1957, Table 1. See the article *Should Christians press for Revision of Company Law?* in *University of Detroit Law Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 1, pp. 15—16.

(2) U.S. Department of Commerce. *Balance of Payments. Statistical Supplement. Revised edition. 1963.* Table 55.

(3) *Ibid.* Table 49.

so the stockholders were thereby collectively the beneficiaries of gratuitous capital growth abroad to the extent of an average of about 0.9 billion dollars every year.

Statistics of Growth of Productivity

In the United States, during the 50-year period between 1889 and 1939, productivity or output per man-hour in manufacturing industries increased by 289 per cent. During the same period, however, average real wages increased only 181 per cent⁽⁴⁾. This meant that during this period wage-earning consumers were prevented by under-remuneration from consuming an output which they themselves had helped to increase by using improved methods of production. They were unable to purchase an industrial output which had increased nearly four times with real wages which had increased nearly three times. Meanwhile a small section of the population, namely the stockholders, were benefitting from the increased productivity by way of very greatly increased distribution of dividends.

Fact of non-adjustment of Laws and Institutions

The second fact which needs to be recognised is that no radical adjustment or modification was made in existing legislation or institutions in any country at the time of the industrial revolution specifically in order to ensure the equitable distribution of the growing national wealth. It was taken for granted and was never questioned that the law of master and servant, of landlord and tenant, of sale of goods, which had been designed to be equitable in a static economy would still make for distributive justice in a dynamically growing economy.

It is evident that national economic growth should redound to the benefit not only of investors, landlords, employers and industrialists, but also to the benefit of employees, consumers, and the general public; if it does not do so, then only one class of persons will become wealthy, and distributive injustice will be the result. In

⁽⁴⁾ The American Assembly, Columbia University, *Wages, Prices, Profits and Productivity* June 1959, Table 1, columns 5 and 6 converted to the base 1889 = 100. See University of Detroit Law Journal, Vol. 40, No. 1, pages 33—35.

other words, increased and improved capital and increased productivity should lead to higher wages for employees, cheaper consumer goods for consumers, and public benefits for the community, as well as capital gains and increased dividends for investors. However, the fact remains as mentioned above, that neither laws nor economic institutions such as industrial companies were radically adjusted or changed precisely in order to ensure that distributive justice should still be observed in regard to the distribution of the increasing national wealth.

Consequence: distributive injustice on a vast scale

The consequence of these two facts was that the XIXth century free market economy became inherently unjust as well as economically inefficient when any contract either of investment or employment or sale of goods which could have been fair and equitable in a static economy, remained fixed under conditions of national economic growth. It is clear both from statistics as well as from the evidence of history that since the terms of these contracts did not allow for economic growth, then they inevitably led to a maldistribution both of property and income.

Although stock-ownership has been becoming more widespread in all countries in recent years, nevertheless there is great concentration of this stock-ownership among the wealthiest 3 per cent of the population. An investigation carried out by Lampman ⁽²⁾ into the stock held by investors in United States corporations found that in 1949 three-quarters of the marketable stock could be assigned to the upper 3 per cent of spending units as ranked by income. The investigation also showed that over the past forty years the concentration of stock ownership has been increasing, not decreasing. For in 1922 1 per cent of adults owned 60 per cent of personally owned corporate stock, whereas 31 years later in 1953 1 per cent owned 76 per cent. If other sorts of wealth ownership are included, besides stock ownership, it is found that in 1957 0.5 per cent of the

⁽²⁾ Robert J. Lampman. *The Share of Top Wealth-Holders in National Wealth, 1922-1956*. National Bureau of Economic Research, 1962, page 208.

United States population owned one quarter of the nation's total wealth.

The same thing has also been happening in all advanced countries all over the world since the beginning of mechanisation and industrialisation. In general, investors, landlords, employers and industrialists have been able to obtain too large a share of the benefits of economic growth. For there has been no radical adjustment of the law and no new economic institutions which have been designed to ensure that real wages should keep in step with increased productivity, or that consumers should benefit from the growth of fixed capital. And what has been happening since the industrial revolution in all the advanced countries of the world is now beginning to happen in the underdeveloped countries. Maldistribution of property, due to basic injustices in the law, is arising; and in these countries it is already giving rise to an instability in society which can be disastrous.

Warning to Cynics

"A conscientious person would rather doubt his own judgment than condemn his species. He would say, 'I have observed without attention, or judged from erroneous maxims; I trusted to profession, when I ought to have attended to conduct'. Such a man will grow wise, not malignant, by his acquaintance with the world. But he that accuses all mankind of corruption ought to remember that he is sure to convict only one."—Edmund Burke.

A knowledge of limitations, a willingness to learn from experience, a power of thought, a refusal to be seduced by the cant of the day, a wide knowledge of books, a grip of fundamentals, all these and more go to make up what Jane Austen felicitously called 'seniority of mind'.

Seniority of Mind

E. L. WAY

THE phrase occurs in that wise, tender, and exquisite book, *Persuasion*. Anne Elliot 'feeling in herself the right of seniority of mind' recommended to Captain Benwick a larger allowance of prose in his daily study. Earlier she had told him that 'it was the misfortune of poetry to be seldom safely enjoyed by those who enjoyed it completely'. And when the evening was over, Anne was amused at having preached patience to a young man whom she had never seen before. And she reflected seriously that "like so many other great moralists and preachers, she had been eloquent on a point in which her own conduct would ill bear examination". It is this eloquence on types of behaviour in which our own role ill bears examination which provides the humorous and ironical elements in the human situation. We are so wise in conducting the lives of others and so foolish in conducting our own. Like Mr. Darcy, in *Pride and Prejudice*, some of us can say: "I have been a selfish being all my life, in practice, though not in principle".

The Tutor

Having left school at an age when others were about to enter a university, one looked around for a guide, philosopher, and friend. I was lucky enough to find one. He had retired from the Royal Mint in his early fifties due to ill-health. He was a deeply religious man. And with kindness and great patience took me to art galleries and lectures,

advised me on what to read, exchanged opinions, and went with me to the theatre. He was a tall scholarly-looking man then in his sixties, and I was eighteen. We must have looked an odd pair. But I liked and respected him, was eager to learn and, possessing an independence of mind, did not give a fig for what people thought. Looking back now I feel a guilty sadness because I can clearly remember some of his foolish opinions, but only retain a vague impression of his wisdom. I thought then that he possessed seniority of mind, and wished that some day I would be like him. Quite certainly I was a bit of a prig. However, I owe him a great debt. I was lonely and he befriended me. I longed for intellectual companionship and he provided it. He preached the word of God, as a lay preacher, all his life and practised it in his daily living. Would there were more like him.

Essential Quality

One of the essential qualities of this type of mind is humility. The wisest of men know very little. But the trouble is that when people don't know they won't say so. How seldom in conversation does one hear those important words: I don't know. We make our ignorance go a very long way. And it doesn't take an acute observer to note that we do not see our way through a particular subject. But that consideration doesn't hinder us. For example, if the subject is contraception nearly everybody feels he can contribute usefully to the discussion. Yet the fact is that the Committee appointed by the Pope to study the matter has had to deal, according to the last piece of news read, with some 60,000 items, suggestions, problems and so forth. One surely needs notice of such a question. Or we may be full of suggestions for mending the English economy, and yet if we were asked to explain what was wrong with it, or to air our views on such things as liquidity, or the dollar and sterling area problems we might soon come to an embarrassing halt. However, on the very next occasion when the subject comes up, we are full of bright ideas, and are sure that other people, perhaps in their late fifties, should change their jobs, or any other equally unpleasant

idea which leaves us exactly where we are but alters entirely the shape of other people's lives. It is as easy as it is futile. Do we not so often in Jane Austen's words "with unpardonable arrogance propose to arrange everybody's destiny"? The journalists, the politicians, and the television seers have set us all a very bad example. The journalist will turn out his quota on a broomstick or the failure of a financial operation with equal assurance. Given time he does write a readable piece on practically everything from how the Vikings under Eric the Red, or somebody else, discovered America and called it Vinland, to the ridiculous theory that depravity and sadism in books has no ill effect upon the reader. It is all mugged up and often churned out without the intervention of a mind. The politician has less time to study, and has more facility with the spoken than the written word. He has also a slick method of side-stepping the question asked and answering another which has not been asked.

Instant Wisdom

Along with instant coffee has been discovered instant wisdom. The television pundit can dispense instant wisdom on Vietnam, Africa, divorce, abortion, or the failure of the American-designed Starfighter jet planes used by the West German Navy. Living in a world in which transport and communications have been speeded up, the thought processes of pundits are hopefully believed to have been speeded up also, and instant wisdom has become a necessity. It is but a short-cut to the computer on the railway platform which, for a shilling, will provide oracular answers from the proper authorities. Before this scientific and modern version of Urim and Thummim we shall probably make our daily or weekly obeisance. It will not be helpful to be reminded that the official answers vary with every decade. Yesterday's instant wisdom is as useful as yesterday's instant coffee. Think of the servitude of the mothers of twenty years ago to precise feeding times for their babies, and the sad text-book rule which prevented them from fondling their infants when they wished to, or the child needed it. Mother nature has put those text-books in the

dustbin, and "feeding by desire" is now the established practice. A robust scepticism is one of the distinguishing marks of seniority of mind. The cant of the day is swiftly cleared out; and humility is helpful here, for those who are confident that they know little are often certain that others know less. (The frequent silence of the wise automatically invites nonsense much as a stretch of grass carrying the warning not to deposit litter invariably attracts it.)

Dignity of Experience

Obviously experience cannot teach us everything. We take a great deal on trust, but there is a freshness, a convincing quality about experience which concentrates attention, and fastens on the mind. No matter how much you may read about old age, or observe old people in order to prepare for it, the actual experience will convey a knowledge which no amount of reading or observation can provide. As a member of a class one has inside information which no sociologist, unless he is also a member, can give. Consider, for example, the difference between voluntary poverty and enforced poverty. As a member of a strict religious order you may often be hungry but where is the anxiety and despair of the man in Orissa who has no idea when he will eat, or in fact if he will see the sun rise on a full stomach again? A willingness to learn from experience, a regard for its dignity, are surely also signs of seniority of mind. And how few people are willing to learn from experience? There is nothing like the dead weight of a lifeless system of ideas. Once it is in place on the mind, like a pyramid on an empty, rifled tomb, nothing which is said, or nothing which is experienced, makes any appreciable difference. A man goes red in the face, his eyes bulge, he gobbles at the mere sound of the word 'jew'. Try gently to persuade him, plead with him, produce all the arguments you can think of. And then three months afterwards mention the jews and his face goes red, his eyes bulge, and he gobbles out the identical statements he made before. You will be lucky if in the meantime he has not heard of that obvious fake, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Stupidity is invincible.

Certitudes

It is an original power of thought working on experience, added to extensive reading, which makes for seniority of mind. A man with such a mind will listen to a new idea, supported by facts or arguments, in a speciality outside his range of interest, and will often ask the most searching questions on it. He will also hold to certain truths with unsakable conviction. He will be able to distinguish the essential from the inessential. He will not confound the instrument with the purpose for which God intended man to use the instrument. Briefly the Sabbath will be made for him, not he for the Sabbath. Seniority of mind is an ideal which some can aim at, and all can admire. For who would not wish to be wise? Who would not like to ask the right questions? Who would not wish to value those things which ought to be valued? With instant coffee, instant wisdom, one-arm-bandits, bingo halls, and many devious ways of making a pound, I suppose it is something to cherish so old-fashioned an ideal as wisdom.

Cobbler's Last

Jane Austen is perfect. It is true her scale is limited, but this in itself is also a mark of true seniority of mind. (She did not write of wars or 'states of the nation'.) The elephant's trunk can uproot a tree or lift a sixpence, but even the best of minds have a limited variety of uses. To know what you can do with yours, and not foolishly strain it by striving for the unattainable is a sign of wisdom. With a bit of luck our rate of conversation may sometimes rise above Jane Austen's description: "a few clever things said, a few downright silly, but by much the larger proportion neither the one nor the other—nothing worse than everyday remarks, dull repetitions, old news, and heavy jokes".

INDUSTRIAL ANGLE

At the root of all economic problems there lies scarcity and choice. What are the priorities in education? We may try to recruit more teachers, but can we get them? There must be fairly heavy expenditure on new schools. Could we not also rely on a greater use of radio and television for the presentation of much basic material? Shall we be forced to call in auxiliaries?

Cost of Education

J. M. JACKSON

THERE is no doubt that everybody would like to see improvements in the educational field. In itself, the raising of the school-leaving age to 16 would probably be a good thing. There may be some pupils who would rather get out into the world and earn their own living, and an even larger number who will resent the extra year at school unless they are offered something that is obviously related to their future working life (though I do not mean only strictly vocational training). There are many other improvements that most of us would like to see. Many schools are still housed in old buildings; many children are still taught in large classes. To replace aged school buildings with light, airy, modern ones is all to the good, and so is the reduction in the size of classes. Nevertheless, the fact that these things are all desirable in themselves does not mean that educational policy should aim at providing them all, and other improvements, within the immediate future. At the root of all economic problems we have scarcity and choice. We can build more schools if we insist, but the construction industry is limited in capacity. If men and materials are used to build schools, they cannot at the same time be used to build homes for

people to live in or new factories to help in our export drive. If we employ more men and women teaching our children in schools, these same men and women cannot be employed as scientists in industry or as managers and make their contribution to national well-being in that way. We have to choose between the various ways in which men and materials may be used. For all the talk of an affluent society, our resources are still far from adequate to meet all our needs.

What are the Priorities?

The teachers have been quick enough to complain about what they consider the inadequate proportion of our national resources being devoted to education. So we would expect. It is natural enough that those interested in a particular field will argue the case of that particular field for a greater share of the national wealth. Somehow, at the end of the day, a decision has to be made, and it is quite unreasonable for any sectional interest to complain that the wrong decision has been reached merely because *their* demands were not fully met. In the normal course of events, this would be true of most sectional interests, for together all these claims will add up to far more than can possibly be met with our scarce resources.

The Minister of Education has recently made himself unpopular with the teachers by asking them to suggest the priorities in education, only to get a somewhat petulant reply that this was his job. In the sense that he alone can make final decisions, this is true, but a Minister can only make reasoned decisions if he has the best possible advice. While he will have his own expert advisers, this does not mean that advice should not be offered by all who are seriously interested and whose opinions are worth considering. The teachers themselves should therefore direct their attention to this question of priorities instead of imagining that the only possible approach is to spend more and more money on education.

There are two main problems to be considered. The first concerns the recruitment of teachers. The raising of the school leaving age and the reduction of the size of

classes suggest the need for more teachers. If we cannot easily get all the teachers we require, which should get priority, raising the school leaving age or reducing the size of class? Secondly, there is the question of how much should be spent on new school buildings and equipment. I shall deal with this question first, rather briefly, and then return to the bigger question of recruitment.

The Need to Build

There must obviously be a fairly heavy expenditure on new school building in the foreseeable future. This need arises from a number of factors. The school-population has been growing, though now that the post-war bulge in the birth-rate has reached university age, the increase in the school population should flatten out. Some increase may, nevertheless, continue. After the war, the birth-rate increased substantially. That means that a good many of these will now be marrying, and in a few years *their* children will be reaching school age. Because of the large number of births twenty or so years ago, there will be again a large number of children entering school for the first time in the next 5 to 10 years. In addition to any natural increase in population, the numbers at school will rise because more children stay on until they are sixteen or over. We may expect this, whether or not the minimum leaving age is raised.

New building will also be required to take account of movements of population. There has been a continuing movement of population from the north to the south-eastern quarter of Britain. Even if this drift to the south were to be stopped at once, a movement would already have occurred which for some years yet would add to the school building programme required in the south. There has also been a movement of population within a town or area. In many towns, vast new estates have been built on the outskirts whilst old residential areas have been redeveloped. Naturally schools have to be provided reasonably close to the children's homes (and in any case, the old schools may not fit into the pattern of redevelopment). Some old buildings may be in such a state that a new school is

required, even though it will be in the same area. Finally, the extension of the comprehensive system may add further to the need for new building.

An educational case can be made for the comprehensive system in some form, though it is not a case which cannot be countered. In our present economic situation, however, the comprehensive principle should certainly not be pushed to the point where it involves great outlays which could otherwise be avoided. In a new town, secondary education must be provided. A choice may exist between a grammar school and perhaps several secondary modern schools on the one hand and perhaps a large comprehensive school on the other. In such a situation, the educational and social arguments must decide the issue. The same is true where a certain amount of additional building is going to be necessary anyway.

But what about the case where the educational needs of a town could be adequately met by an extension to an existing grammar school and the building of a new secondary modern school in an area where population has grown? Or is comprehensive education of such over-riding importance that in this kind of situation comprehensive schools should be provided for all children, even if it means discarding some existing modern school buildings and adding considerably to the total expenditure on building? I think not. Remember, to refuse to spend money on such a school building programme is not just niggardliness. It is not just money that is scarce but building workers and materials, and if we insist on unnecessary school building it will be at the expense of homes for people to live in or factories which would make a contribution to improving our economic difficulties.

Education and Productivity

It will be argued, of course, that better education is vital to our economic progress. This, however, is a line of argument that can easily be pushed too far. Education is necessary for an efficient labour force, but this does not mean that all expenditure on education will yield a dividend in the form of increased productivity. We can, for example,

expect such a return from expenditure on education for management, on the education of scientists and engineers, on technical education at different levels, and so on. Re-organisation on comprehensive lines will make little or no difference in this direction and should therefore wait until other factors dictate an extensive building programme. Equally, the raising of the school leaving age will help to raise productivity in so far as the extra year is devoted to teaching children the skills they will use in their working lives: it will not do so if the extra year is merely devoted to general education and offers only another year of the mixture as before. One can, I know, argue the case for a further year of general education for most, if not all, children. I think, for example, it would be all to the good that children should learn in their last year at school something about the world in which they will live and work. I believe it would be possible to teach them something about the recent economic history of the country and how our economy works; they could learn something about the political system; and about the moral principles that should govern economic and political life. I believe that this could be done reasonably with children of 15 plus, whereas at a younger age it might not be so successful.

But valuable as such a programme might be, it can only be put into operation if we are prepared to shoulder the cost. This cost will include the necessary expenditure on new buildings, and the loss of the alternative buildings that could have been built. It will mean either attracting more people to teaching and the cost of doing so, not only in terms of several millions on the education bill but in terms of losing the services of the additional teachers in the other jobs they would have taken. Or if we cannot get the extra teachers, the cost of raising the school leaving age is the continued acceptance of classes bigger than we consider desirable.

Can we get more teachers ?

If one reads reports of the conferences of the various teachers' associations, it would seem that the recruitment

problem is easily solved. One only has to raise salaries sufficiently and all the teachers one wants will be forthcoming. This is quite untrue, though it is a view shared by a good many economists. In fact, workers do not necessarily respond all that readily to differentials in wages and salaries. Authorities like Fogarty and Jaques tend to the view that any group of workers expect to receive a wage or salary comparable to that of other workers of roughly the same level of skill and responsibility. There is discontent if wages and salaries fall below this level; but an increase above it will not produce a great influx of new entrants. Moreover, it would be foolish to suppose that we could push up salaries in teaching sufficiently to attract large numbers of men and women from industry and commerce. A few additional recruits might be forthcoming if teachers' salaries were brought reasonably into line with those of comparable workers. If they were pushed very much ahead and drew large numbers from industry and commerce, the obvious response is an increase of salaries in industry and commerce to hold the graduates needed there.

What must be realised is that there is an overall shortage of graduates and people with comparable qualifications, and that in teaching, and in other spheres, where the desired supply is not forthcoming, other methods must be found for coping with the shortage. The raising of the school leaving age certainly needs to be reconsidered. Although it is perhaps a desirable measure in itself, it is bound to mean that we are compelled to accept the present large classes for a considerable period. Even if the rate of recruitment to the teaching profession could be increased significantly, it would be a good many years before the effect on the total supply of teachers would be appreciable. If this is the case, then what we must ask is whether it is better to keep the minimum leaving age at 15 and reduce the size of class or to raise it to 16 and accept the present large classes as necessary well into the foreseeable future.

I have been suggesting that the choice is between raising the school leaving age and reducing the size of class. In

fact, of course, any hope of reducing the size of class depends upon some increased recruitment: without this, the choice is between even larger classes if the leaving age is raised and no reduction if it is left unchanged. There must therefore be a question mark against the reduction of the size of classes, even with the present leaving age. It would seem that the sensible thing to do is to insist upon doing everything possible to maintain or improve the standard of education given to the child between the ages of 5 and 15 rather than lower standards by the pretence of offering an extra year of education to all.

Dilution

The attitude of the teachers is that the present size of class ought to be reduced, and that this is a matter of urgency. They see no way of doing this other than recruitment on a massive scale. This they think can be done by sufficiently large salary increases. They are completely opposed to any introduction of auxiliaries in the classroom. This attitude is just downright stupid, and it is quite clear that they realise this from their attitude towards the National Board for Prices and Incomes. They pretend they are prepared to stand by an incomes policy after *their salaries have been brought into line with those of comparable professions*. If that were true, they would have no hesitation in agreeing that, if necessary, their claims should be referred to the Board, for it is quite within its terms of reference to permit exceptionally large increases where a special case can be made out.

Let us face the facts. There appears to be a substantial shortage of teachers by comparison with the numbers we appear to need if the school leaving age is to be raised *and* size of classes is to be reduced.

Only a relatively small proportion of teachers are recruited each year: even a substantial increase in recruitment will not greatly affect total numbers for a good many years.

The most we can hope for from a salary increase is to increase the normal rate of recruitment: it is unlikely that many older men and women could be recruited to offset the unsatisfactory rate of recruitment and wastage in the

past. Moreover, any exceptionally high rate of recruitment would involve difficulties over training.

It would not be desirable to try and secure an exceptionally high recruitment by offering salaries that were above the general level for comparably qualified workers. I have already indicated that I do not think this would recruit all that many more teachers, and would in any case be met by counter offers in other fields.

If this line of argument is correct, it means that the existing shortage of teachers is likely to continue into the future as far as we can see. On balance, I think it is probably true that teachers are relatively underpaid by comparison with some other professions, but not nearly to the extent they themselves would have us believe. If they really had such confidence in their case, they would not be so afraid of allowing it to be investigated by the impartial Prices and Incomes Board. If, then, the salaries of teachers were raised, we could expect perhaps a limited increase in recruitment. The existing shortage would be eased, but no more.

Outdated Methods

Does this mean, then, that we must accept the present large sized classes and the present school leaving age indefinitely? Are we never to be able to ensure that children get more individual attention? Is the minimum school leaving age never to be raised to 16? The answer to these questions is that we must, *if we accept the attitude of the teachers who apparently want to go about their jobs in the traditional way.* There is, however, no reason why we should stick to the traditional methods. There must always be a large personal element in teaching, but this does not mean that there is not scope for introducing mechanised methods as well, and making a considerable saving in the use of the scarce skills of the qualified teacher.

Why not, for example, place much more reliance on radio and television for the presentation of a great deal of basic material. The ordinary teacher would still be needed to discuss these programmes with the class, to correct written exercises based on them, and so on. Would it,

however, really require the services of one highly skilled teacher for each 30 pupils to ensure that order was maintained during the radio and television programmes? Important savings in teacher-time could be made during such programmes by listening or viewing in larger groups than the ordinary class and/or employing some auxiliaries for this purpose as well as fully qualified teachers. If this were done, it would be possible for the teachers to give more individual attention to children when they met classes for discussions and written exercises based on these programmes.

The teachers claim that this kind of thing is dilution. For my own part, I could not care less what they want to call it. The truth of the matter is that in all professions there are a great many jobs that do not call for a great deal of special skill and qualification. If recruits to the profession are abundant, this does not matter too much, though it may mean that the community is called upon to pay a good many people at rates appropriate to the qualifications required for the profession, when it would be possible to manage with fewer possessing such qualifications and a number of less highly qualified assistants or auxiliaries. The same is true in many manual crafts. Certain operations are supposed to belong to the craftsman, though it is obvious that they could be done successfully by anybody with a little commonsense and dexterity. The country can no longer afford such restrictive practices, whether among the craft unions or in the professions. The sooner the teachers realise this the better.

Advice From Inferiors

"I should tell you, that in my course I have known, and, according to my measure, have co-operated with great men; and I have never yet seen any plan which has not been mended by the observations of those who were much inferior in understanding to the person who took the lead in the business."—Edmund Burke (*Reflections*).

Do you approve of censorship? What is meant by "situation ethics" and "permissive morality"? Is professionalism in sport a question of morals? Is urging equality for women a waste of time?

Any Questions?

WILLIAM LAWSON, S.J.

Do you approve of censorship?

YOU might as well ask the question: Do you approve of discrimination? The answer to both questions is: Yes—and your answer should be the same.

The whole purpose of education, whether secular or religious, is to produce minds and wills capable of accepting and rejecting by right standards. Good living is based on right choices; and choice is selection, discrimination.

Censorship is a form of discrimination, exercised from above by authority. It is questionable not because it is selective but because it is imposed. Nobody would maintain that every consumer is capable of making the right choices for himself. Children are under a censoring authority for various kinds of consumption—for food and drink, and for reading. They have neither the book knowledge nor the experience to prescribe for themselves. It is the duty of parents and other educators to prevent damage to their charges, and also to induce them to adopt the right values and tastes.

Justification of censorship that limits the freedom of adults is based on the allegation that many adults lack the power to reject what is bad for them, so that the rejection has to be done for them. It is on that ground that the prohibition of the sale of pornography is justified. The principle is sound, and it should prevail over cries, often hypocritical or absurdly idealistic, for freedom to publish.

Moral censorship may err by laxity or puritanism, but its motives are generally unselfish. Political censorship, however, is always suspect, with good reason. Politicians depend on

the support of citizens for which they have to appeal. It is to their interest to keep from the citizenry such facts and opinions as would weaken their support; and their self-interested censorship is not a guide to mature thinking but a suppression of necessary truth.

What is meant by "situation ethics" and "permissive morality"?

BOOTH, but for different reasons, deny that there are absolute standards for human behaviour. They can be described, perhaps, in terms of tailoring. They would say that human beings cannot be fitted with suits off the peg, but that every suit must be bespoke, cut to the measurement of the individual. There will be a uniform, because all human beings have the same general build; but sleeve-lengths and the rest will have to be altered to suit individual requirements. The proponents of situation ethics would recommend such modifications in the uniform on the ground that they make the uniform more serviceable: permissive morality would make changes for the sake of comfort—allowing beach-suits, for example, in place of formal dress.

If that illustration throws light on the subject, it will also serve as the point of departure for a condemnation of those two moral systems. Both of them reject the assertion underlying Christian morality that there is an unchangeable human nature for which unchangeable standards of behaviour can be described. They put themselves in the position of Adam and Eve when they had rejected God's will for them as indicated by their nature, and had arrogated to themselves the right to decide arbitrarily what for them should be good and evil.

The Ten Commandments are a statement, in mostly negative terms, of what human nature is always and everywhere. Whatever variants of human nature there may be, in temperament and character, heredity and environment, the requirements for good human behaviour are always the same. It is admitted that ability to fulfil the requirements varies from one to another. In the condemned systems, provision is made for the variants by changing

the standards. In Christianity, provision is left to God, who knows the heart of man.

Is professionalism in sport a question of morals?

ANY kind of human behaviour is a question of morals, because morality is, by definition, the right and wrong of the behaviour of persons. But why professionalism in particular, any more than other relationships with a cash link? And why single out sport amongst ways of entertaining the multitudes?

Is it the magnitude of rewards that bothers you? Recent rows over demands in this country for payment of footballers by individual negotiation and not according to a universal minimum and maximum have raised the question what is suitable employment for human beings, and whether there is an upper limit beyond which salaries for entertainers are indecent. If it is right for people to be entertained by skills not unbecoming to human nature, it is right to exercise those skills and to be paid for exercising them. If footballers in the U.S.A. can earn hundreds of thousands of dollars a year, more power to them. Considering how short a time they have in top-class football, their earnings are not extravagant in comparison with those of film-stars or pop singers.

Professionalism would not exist in entertainment if it were not for commercialisation. Entertainment has become big business. Capitalists compete for customers wanting to be entertained, and so they bid against one another for the best entertainers. That also seems reasonable. That the entertainment is gradually debased to suit the crude tastes of the majority may be true of films and television. It is not true, so far as I can see, of sport; and in any case the blame must be put on public taste, not on professionalism. It is sometimes alleged that the rewards in professional sport lead its practitioners to value winning inordinately. Their use of foul means to success is to be regretted, condemned and strongly discouraged. But for playing to win they should be praised. That is how games should be played, and not, as some amateurs seem to think, in order not to lose.

**You are wasting your time urging equality for women.
They don't want it.**

EQUALITY" is not the word I should choose, as it is only one element of the two on which right esteem for women is based. To mention equality alone, ignoring uniqueness and originality leads to misunderstanding and so to a continuation of pernicious injustices, perpetuated by women as well as by men.

There is a natural equality of men and women, established by the author of our nature, and consisting in equal titles to humanity and personality and equal responsibility under the divine commission to the human race. Man and woman are equally images of God, and equally called to subject the universe to the divine will. Their association should be a companionship of equals. Their team work should be based on that fact of equality. They then set about the accomplishment of their task according to their different and complementary aptitudes.

Original sin disturbed the equality required for perfect companionship. Male qualities of character have been exaggerated into tyranny and female qualities distorted into subjection. Balance is not to be restored by robbing the male to pay the female; and right-minded people reject a reversal of roles. The restoration of order must come rather from insistence on masculinity for males and femininity for females, not from trying to rub out differences of character but from accentuating them.

Everyone recognises in theory the universal human right to full development of personality. The right needs to be admitted in practice. When it is, equality will be accepted as the ground from which man and woman will grow in their full originality; and their complementary contributions to human history will blend in a perfect companionship.

Do the Scriptures give any indication of how long the world will last?

ENOUGH to provide a scattering of quotations for any kind of theory, but not enough for certainty. It is not even clear in Scripture whether the world will come

to an end or not. The Apocalypse describes a catastrophe that will overwhelm the world before the coming of Christ to judge the living and the dead; but that destruction could be a preliminary to the making of a new earth, which is also prophesied. It is not clear, either, whether, if the world is to come to an end, its destruction will be by an act of God shaking the stars from the sky like ripe figs from a tree, or by man's own act, he now having the means of race suicide.

Throughout the history of Christianity there have been interpretations of Scripture that fixed the date, sometimes the exact day, of the world's end. The latest in the line of false prophets have been Jehovah's witnesses. Non-religious speculators base their calculations on the natural sciences, and not on the Apocalypse, and they are in no danger of living to see their prophecies falsified, as they give the world a future of many millions of years.

We cannot be indifferent to the fate of the world. We have no firm date for the end of it; we cannot be sure it will last out what we call "our time"; and we have to assume a responsibility for a future of astronomical duration. It would be fantastic to retire to a mountain fastness and there await the day of doom; and it is feeble to think that contraception meets the population problem of a world that is already over-populated at the beginning of its next million years. The intelligent judgment is that the world is Christ's, its beginning and its end, that we are waiting not for the end of the world but for the coming of Christ, and that the only adequate preparation is to belong to him now, so that when he comes he will know us as his own.

The Stupid Mule

"Power, the stupid necessary mule, should have neither pride of ancestry nor hope of posterity."—Lords Beveridge (*Power and Influence*).

The Padres of San Miguelito

IX: THE WORD OF GOD—II

M. CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON, S.J.

LAST month's instalment in the *San Miguelito* series ended in the middle of Report X and some examples of personal conversions wrought by the preaching of the Word of God. This article carries the remainder of the same Report. After a few more examples of personal conversions, come the four remaining sections of the Report: Need of the Word, Theology of the City, Challenge of the Word, and The One Essential Programme.

REPORT X (Part 11) — November 28th, 1964

PEDRO A.—Age 33:

Pedro A. is married and the father of 5 children. Startlingly handsome, he possesses a superbly engaging personality. He sings and plays the guitar beautifully and is in constant demand at all the social gatherings of the neighbourhood. Many of Pedro's friends began to attend the discussion courses and *Cursillos*, but Pedro always hung back, much to the disappointment of his good friends and of his wife. For Pedro had serious problems: two other women, and children with each, besides his own wife and family. Ever so slowly he was brought into the new "Church" in San Miguelito—mostly through the Sunday afternoon dinners organized by the Catholic families. Pedro made his *Cursillo* and soon afterwards made his break with the past (and no one but God and Pedro himself know how hard it was). The day he first stood up to receive Communion, to be "one" with all the other men in Christ, was a day of rejoicing for our community. Pedro is now one of the great apostles of San Miguelito: a leader of one of the discussion groups, a lector for the liturgy and a professor in the *Cursillo* movement.

JUAN M.—Age 29:

Juan is married, the father of two and has almost completed his University education in accounting. He was working for the government housing agency when a scandal was uncovered regarding misuse of funds. He never denied his part in the affair but the big shots who were involved and actually got the money got off scot-free and Juan went to jail for a year. When he was released, he was a shamed and almost broken man. But the priests of the parish and the young Catholic couples began to visit him and gradually he responded. He entered one of the courses, made a *Cursillo*, and is now one of the leaders of the parish. Last week Juan was assigned to give one of the homilies at Mass. The passage was from one of St. Paul's prison letters. Jan gave a beautiful explanation of how St. Paul must have felt when he was in prison. When he finished the homily, there wasn't a dry eye in the church.

MARIA A.—Age 41:

Maria was a practising Catholic before we ever came to San Miguelito in as much as she went to Mass as often as she could and was married by the Church. Yet she was the type that dominated her husband and three grown sons (19, 20 and 21) if not by sheer force then by feminine hysterics. The home was an unhappy one and the oldest boy began to drink a lot and finally left the house. The husband took to drinking and gambling a great deal. Then the other boys were threatening to leave. Each time a crisis grew in the house, Maria had an asthmatic attack that left her near death. These attacks, whether real or imaginary or both, had enslaved the whole family. The second oldest boy, the finest of the three, was supporting the family alone. Finally, on advice from one of the priests, he left the house. Gone was her support, both financial and moral, and Maria was helpless. She had been highly critical of this new-fangled religion but now she begged for help. She and her husband entered one of the courses for couples. Eventually Maria, her husband and all three boys made a *Cursillo*. What a difference it has made! The family is reunited now and happy. But

the biggest change is in Maria. She has come to know that true love does not rest on fear or force, but rather on trust and service. She no longer suffers attacks: in fact, she works harder than ever now that she realises that she must give rather than demand. One would never know that she was sick or that the family was once near disaster as one watches them taking the long walk up the hill for daily Mass and Communion.

ISABEL S.—Age 35:

Isabel is a good-looking woman with two children, known in her sector as a good mother, a hard worker and a wife with a marriage problem. One day she came to the Rectory for help in obtaining the Bishop's permission for a divorce and the legal aid for the same. She told her sad story: of her husband's infidelity and lack of responsibility, and seemed to have every reason for a separation. While the matter was pending, she accepted an invitation to participate in her area in the couples' discussion on the Word of God. She came alone because her husband had long since left the house. At first, she poured out her bitterness in front of the other couples, but as she began to listen to them discussing their love and their problems, she became more and more silent. Finally with the other women of her area she made the *Cursillo*. When it was over, she had but one sentence to say to the priest: "Father, I'm going home to save my marriage!" However, she did it we don't know, but her husband returned to the house and was soon participating with the other couples in their discussion course. Finally he made his own *Cursillo* and they received Communion together at the Mass of the *Clausura* (closing of the *Cursillo*). Now they are the talk of the neighbourhood as they walk together holding hands like sweethearts. Isabel recently told one of the priests: "Now I see that much of the problem was of my own making. I learned what true love is: true love forgives all, is patient and tolerant and is not demanding but giving".

III: NEED OF THE WORD

We too have seen enough to make a very strong state-

ment that San Miguelito, Panama and very probably the whole of Latin America needs one thing more than anything else: the Word of God. We propose two fundamental reasons for such a need:

1) The unique culture of Latin America

The U.S.A. and much of Europe now has an independent secular culture running alongside its religious culture. This must be one of the most important evolutions in the long history of man, despite the persistent indiscriminate attacks some Catholic leaders level against secularism. Latin America does not enjoy the phenomenon of the complementary but distinct double culture; its soul is basically Christian and Catholic at that. As such it not only has not advanced to a better concrete notion of a double culture, but its unique Catholic culture is antiquated, deficient and widely unknown. Latin America is like a blind man in search of light: like a man looking for his own soul. Latin America needs political stability, housing, education, industrialisation and all these badly, but nothing so urgently as the message of the Gospel, the ideals and power of the Word of God.

It is no secret and almost no surprise that the leading Communists in Panama are graduates of Catholic schools. They were trained well in these exclusive schools to think and observe. Leaving college, they, better than most, could see the tragedy around them. But no one had given them the great ideal of Christian Revolution, the sweeping reform that is true Christianity, the demanding personal and collective code that are the Beatitudes, Our Lord's own Commandments. Panama has no strong secular culture to keep it afloat and, without a modern relevant Christian ideal, it has but two alternatives left to itself: to sink lower into immorality, corruption and hopelessness, or to take on the ideals, hope and message of Karl Marx.

2) The flight from Marginal Living

The masses of Latin America have a fierce thirst: to be human! They are now condemned to a marginal human life: they are living at a sub-human or just about (marginal)

human level. But there is a great movement sweeping across the Continent like a fast-spreading prairie fire. They no longer will accept the leavings of food, housing, work, education and culture that has always been their paltry heritage. No longer will they accept the third-class religion (occasional processions, candles, devotions to Saints); nor will it be sufficient merely to advance them to a second-class Christianity (Rosary, May devotions, Novenas, Masses for Souls in Purgatory). The masses in Panama, in all of Latin America, are on the move, in the throes of social revolution: whether the revolution will result in a peaceful change, as in Great Britain and the U.S. (where the drive for popular suffrage and election, universal education, an equitable share in the economy succeeded for the most part without violence), or whether it will come in the form of a violent upheaval remains to be seen. What is certain is that the change will come (rather, is coming) much more quickly than in G.B. or the U.S. Why? Because of two factors: Communication and urbanization.

(a) *Communication.* If one wanted to stop the popular massive revolt, one would have to shut down television and radio stations, movie theatres and publishing houses (somewhat like the Government of South Africa which will not permit television) for it is through these means that our people see a new kind of life, particularly as it is lived in the U.S. and Europe. They see the kind of world in which people not only live more comfortably but also, because of their dignity, culture and education, talk of beautiful things, do marvellous things and have a chance, at a much higher level, to be truly human beings. Ever-improving communication has been one of the prime factors in the sweeping social revolution spreading through Latin America.

(b) *Urbanization.* A phenomenon even more striking than the absolute growth of population in Latin America, is the movement of the population to cities. There is a long list of countries in Latin America where between 25 and 33 per cent of the entire population lives in the Capital City. The urbanization rate is ever so much faster than that of

the U.S.: a truly dangerous rate because it far outstrips the rate of mechanization of the land and the industrialisation of the city. Why do they come to the city? To live better, say the people (we would say, to be human). And they are in an intuitive sense correct because the city is the place par excellence of truly human existence. The very words "urbanization and civilization" are indicative of this truth. It is when man leaves the land and his animals and goes to a place where other human beings take the place of his animals, that he has the opportunity to rise to a much higher level of life. To be urbane, to be civilized means to be "citified". Not even massive agrarian reform, so urgently needed, will stem the tide to the cities. So here we are with the problem: enormous centres of population. But lots of people do not make a true city. Those of us who confront this problem, who live with it every day, must do so without a Theology of the City. This should be proposed to the thinkers and theologians of the world as an order of business of the first priority.

IV: THEOLOGY OF THE CITY

Here we present a few sketchy ideas of such a theology as we see it working out experimentally in San Miguelito. First of all, the movement to cities does not of itself assure civilization. What is certain is that men will be either better or worse in the city, but never again the same. Men on the land are limited, though also stabilized, by their ties to sky and earth, birds and animals. When they move to a place where other men live, then the very "convivencia" (living together) of truly human beings can produce almost limitless opportunities for human advancement. However, the dynamic of the city is such that if man moves to the city and lives with marginal human beings (whose life is much closer to animal life), then, without the protective influence of the land, his life will surely and quickly degenerate. The city, despite its appearance of liberty and progress, can actually turn into a massive prison or concentration camp. To work shoulder to shoulder, to live house to house with other human beings can spell

disaster if the people are less than human: but it can also spell the glory of God in man, the people of God, if the people are truly human.

The task of all of us, educators, leaders and, above all, priests, is to make our people human! There are many laudable programmes going on in Latin America which, taken by themselves and without that which we shall call for the present *The One Essential Programme*, are insufficient and ever dangerously insufficient. Perhaps the reader will find the following two examples interesting:

(a) *Regulation of Births.* There is no doubt in our minds that city life demands, both for human and financial reasons, the regulation of births in those huge families that are so common on the land in Latin America. Without entering into the controversy here on methods, we see a great problem in encouraging (never mind teaching) our people to regulate the size of their families. On the land, the generation of children is an integral part of the cycle of nature, of the life and love of the people there. Even without a conscious realization of that cycle, man remains close to the mystery of life and death and rebirth (resurrection). The city should present to him the opportunity to explore and live much more deeply and consciously this cycle of life and love. Effectively to reduce his family, to teach him simply to avoid the generation of human life without giving him the great conscious ideals of family life and love, may possibly alleviate the food and housing problems of a locality, but it will at the same time produce a genuine inhuman degeneration wherein the people will descend into the animal like, selfish struggle to keep alive *for themselves alone*. The Birth Control Movement in Latin America, *by itself alone*, without a successful effort to raise the human level of our people, may very well spell disaster for Latin America.

(b) *Mutual Aid Housing.* The International Development Bank (financed largely but not exclusively by the Alliance for Progress) has done a great deal to alleviate the extraordinary housing shortage in the cities of Latin America by building low-cost homes for workers. One of the most

interesting programmes is that of Mutual Aid in which a group of families, ranging in number from 15 to 100, are supplied materials, plans and technical aid whereby, working at night, the entire group puts up the houses. There are several such projects in San Miguelito and, now that most are completed, one tends to judge from the looks of neat, well-built and decent houses that they have been striking successes: after all, the workers do have their homes and are paying off their 30-year mortgage at the almost unbelievably low average rate of \$15.00 per month. So far so good, on the outside! But those of us who know the families engaged on these projects see a different situation from within. When we arrived here, everyone of these self-help projects was filled with dissension, rancour and bitterness. These same areas have proven the most difficult to organize into "Church", or small Christian communities. Neighbours do not talk to neighbours; gossip, back-biting, and fighting are prevalent. Again it seems to prove that if you take the people off the land and put them close together, but close together in the "city" without the proper personal and spiritual formation, without the nobler ideals of urban life, the result can easily be the very opposite of what was intended.

The answer to all this is in a sense an easy one—*education*. The masses of Latin America urgently need and desire to be educated. But this is not an easy task. Education in the proper sense of the word does not mean to fill people with facts or even with knowledge: it means to draw out the inner human qualities, it means to develop the greatness that lies in every people. This is a process that requires great ideals and forceful motivation which will enable people to rise above themselves and their environment. It has to be the type of education that deeply challenges and at the same time provides true hope and confidence to accompany that challenge.

We have seen with our own eyes the powerful effect of the Word of God on our people. We have seen people change from a state of lethargy, cynicism, despair, sadness introversion and ignorance to one of gladness, joy, hope,

confidence, outgoingness and ambition. The reader might say but this is a spiritual or religious effect in the order of the Faith and has no direct relation to the natural order. We do not accept this position either theoretically or experientially. The natural order, speaking theologically, never existed except in text-books. We are either a fallen people or a redeemed nation. If we truly love, then that love is redemptive and can only come from the gift of God to man, Jesus Christ. There is no such thing as natural charity. If it is true charity, "there is God": when it is a perverted love, God is absent. Therefore like the natural order, natural charity remains a hypothetical entity — similar to the "noble savage" of the North American continent. Where there is true human community, even in the absence of the formal knowledge of the Redeemer, there is Christ because it is only through Him that we can create true community. Perhaps it is time to do away with the distinction between natural and super-natural; since the first never truly existed, the comparison and distinction does more harm than good. True, we do have a super-nature (though we personally do not like the word because it seems a depreciation of humanity) for God has entered our history and our race: the Son of God himself is present among us for ever, not to make us divine in the sense of making us God, but in the sense of making us truly human which is the pinnacle of the divine creation.

V: CHALLENGE OF THE WORD

We report that we have been blessed to see what the Word of God can do, how it can create swiftly, strongly and lastingly. We do not refer to a defensive, apologetic, narrow, individualistic preaching of the Word (which is more of a mockery of the Word), but a sound, Biblical, ample challenge of the Word to modern man. It might be expressed briefly in the following propositions:

(1) We know from the great "faith-poetry" of the Bible that God called us to be great, to be human, to be a people. We know that we, as symbolized by Adam and Eve and later on by the Jewish nation, have consistently rejected that call and have thus suffered a catastrophic

alienation from God, from other men and from our very selves.

(2) We know and believe that God sent his only Son to become truly one of us, Who, being the new Adam and the Great Jew, gave the perfect answer in the name of all of us, his brothers, to the challenge of His Father. His answer was his sacrifice whereby he conquered our alienation of sin, division and death, and rose to the heights of the "One New Man", the Risen One.

(3) We know, for we believe, that because of the response of His Son, God sent His Spirit to us to renovate the face of the earth, precisely by renovating man. That Spirit dwells with us and within us and marches inexorably towards the eventual perfection of man and creation. The making of all things of the Spirit of God means that there is no obstacle we cannot and should not conquer: whether it be ignorance, corruption, injustice, disunity and even death itself.

(4) We know that we, the Christian body, are a Sign to the World and for the world, just as Christ was: a sign that shines so brilliantly because it gives and does not take, as the Saviour gave all and took nothing.

(5) We know that because God is man, everything human is sacred and every truly human endeavour is truly redemptive because it brings us all closer to our goal and destiny. We know now, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that we can and will be truly human: no greater incentive or hope can be given us because deep within the human consciousness is the desire for the divine (the scholastics call it the "natural desire for the beatific vision"). Ours is the task but to second the motion of the Lord, by our work and by our sacrifice and by our death. Given that willingness, we as persons and as a people are absolutely certain of overcoming, of rising to true life where life and love are identified. "I am the Resurrection and the Life."

We submit that more than anything else (and by no means do we wish to depreciate the many excellent programmes of aid to Latin America) Latin America needs education, civilization, humanization, polification (the

making of a people). We know of no more powerful instrument than the Word of God, amply and soundly proclaimed. Have we perhaps forgotten the power of the Word of God? Have we overlooked the principal factor in the ascendancy of Western Civilization in the world? Have we forgotten that the Word of God, no matter how obscurely understood, has provided us with an impetus that has literally left the rest of the world behind?

There is another Word currently present in Latin America, that of Marx and Lenin. Make no mistake, it is a powerful message of hope and confidence, of progress and collectivization. Sadly it is also a vicious message because it is a Christian heresy, a perversion of God's Word especially in the area of the identity of man, of his inviolable spirit (the Son of God had to die so as not to violate man) and the sacred liberty that is the prerogative of that spirit. Every nation in this part of the world faces the same problem: where to find the Ideal, the Word that will save the people from sinking ever lower and lift them up to the rank of a great people. Cuba has opted (or at least its leaders have) for the Word of Marx: the others are still searching and experimenting: some are floundering badly.

VI: THE ONE ESSENTIAL PROGRAMME

Latin America needs thousands of technicians, teachers, community organizers, etc. Godspeed to all those noble people who come with spirit and talent to give. But we must not ask them to proclaim the Word of God for it is not their role. It is ours, that of all the evangelists — priests, brothers, sisters and laity—who come from within and without for the mission of the Word. It is our firm belief that only the Word of God can save Latin America, unless it be that this continent will have to suffer the agony of the Marxist heresy. Recently a Chilean Bishop told us a relevant story. He had been asked to send a priest to a worker area to be its pastor. A young priest, an expert in co-operatives, was assigned there. He worked hard, particularly in co-operatives, and was popular with his people. (Please keep in mind that Chile, despite its enormous

problem of poverty, is a sophisticated, advanced country.) After six months, a group of workers representing the people went back to the Bishop with the following complaint: "We asked for a priest, you sent us a cooperativista, we want to hear the Word of God".

Panama, like all of Latin America, needs and wants the Word of God. Why then does the *Church* insist on sending teachers, nurses, etc., when the one great necessity, one only we the missionaries can correspond to, is the Word of God? It is a disturbing phenomenon that a vast percentage of North American missionaries in Latin America are teaching English! More, why do we continue to send personnel (priests, brothers, sisters, laity) who are not well trained in the Word of God? It is possible that we may not be understood or appreciated if we concentrate more on the Word of God. We run the risk that people will underestimate the cultural scope of our work. But who in this world thinks of Moses as the father of our civilisation? And yet who, apart from Christ whom he prefigured, has more right to the title? And Christ said: "I am come that you might have life and have it more abundantly". Could we offer more to Latin America? Dare we give less?

A Secret Society

"Every generation is a secret society and has incommunicable enthusiasms, tastes, and interests which are a mystery both to its predecessors and to posterity." John Jay Chapman.

Book Reviews

NKRUMAH'S GENERAL

African Tightrope by Major-General H. T. Alexander; Pall Mall Press, 25s. **African Powder Keg** by Ronald Matthews; Bodley Head, 30s. **The Drums of Kumasi** by Alan Lloyd; Panther Books, 5s.

SIX years ago I remember flying from Kumasi to Tamale in the northern region of Ghana. The plane was a Heron and it was full. The pilot was a typical ex-R.A.F. type, the steward a Ghanaian. As we came in to land we noticed a company of soldiers drawn up on the airfield, very smart, complete with regimental band and mascot. The banter started. Which of us was the V.I.P.? In fact, no one. The turn-out was a dress rehearsal for the last Governor General who was due in a day or two to make his farewell. Ghana was changing to a presidential form of government, a republic within the Commonwealth. The Queen's representative was making his rounds to say good-bye. This, I thought, is the end of an era. In a sense it was. The presidential elections, held some weeks later, were a fiddle. From then on the passage was swift to crude and capricious authoritarian rule.

Meanwhile, the army remained as a symbol of what might have been for the country as a whole. British and Ghanaian officers were drawn up with their troops that day on the airfield at Tamale. Their commander was a Ghanaian Colonel (later Brigadier) Michel, a first-class soldier and a perfect gentleman, if ever there was one. Later, he was killed when the Heron crashed—some say in doubtful circumstances—on the same route from Kumasi to Tamale. I had the privilege of meeting him briefly at the airport when I landed. There could be no doubt of his charm: his integrity one sensed at once. I noticed, too, the easy mingling between British and Ghanaian officers. There was nothing forced about it. If only it could have remained that way.

It would have done so, no doubt, had Major-General Alexander had his way. One senses in his excellent pages the whole atmosphere of this most interesting time. He served Nkrumah as Chief-of-Staff for twenty months in Ghana—from January, 1960 until his peremptory dismissal by the President in September, 1961. He had thought to come out to the attractive task of shaping Ghana's already good forces into a first-class and reliable army. It was the sort of job any soldier would covet, though the risks were considerable: with a touchy and impulsive autocrat as Commander-in-Chief no one can know what tomorrow will bring.

In the event, General Alexander found himself in a cauldron. It was not merely that his plans were made subject so constantly to the caprice of Kwame Nkrumah. He was projected — as an English general commanding Ghana's army—into the madhouse of the Congo after the mutiny of the *Force Publique*. That in itself was difficult enough. His task touched near-impossibility when he had to keep Ghana's UNO contingent loyal to the United Nations whilst preventing it from being used by Ghana's President as no more than an instrument of his own imperialistic designs. That must have been hard enough in all conscience. When one reflects, moreover, that the General was an Englishman, one realises that the sort of balance required, for a Ghanaian, must have been doubly difficult for him. It speaks volumes for General Alexander's character that he should have done as well as he did. His forbearance, not only during the Congo operation but throughout the whole of his time in Ghana, leaves me in admiration. I find it difficult to see how he took what he did. A reading of this book, with its humour and its understanding, gives one a high respect for the British Army and its officers. If Sandhurst can build men of this sort, it appears to me to be doing very well indeed. There is no trace of rancour throughout this book; there is no self-pity. After all its author went through, I find this remarkable. It points to a largeness of spirit, a tolerance which comes only to those who are sure of themselves and the values they hold.

There must have been times when President Nkrumah regretted keenly his peremptory dismissal of General Alexander and most of his British officers. I never thought he would dismiss them, and that for a very good reason. As time went on, Nkrumah lived increasingly in a twilight world of suspicion and fear. The thought must have been often in his mind that the army might revolt against him in support of an oppressed people. At the same time he must have realised that, so long as he had a British general in command of his troops, with a sprinkling of British officers in support, revolt was unlikely to be attempted or, if attempted, to succeed. Traditionally the British Army is out of politics. Its loyalty is to the Crown, irrespective of the government of the day. That tradition is carried by its soldiers to rulers they serve on secondment. Thus, it was in Nkrumah's own interest to retain Alexander in charge of his troops, along with a sprinkling of British officers. Their task would have become increasingly invidious, but they would have remained loyal to the ruler they served. It is, therefore, a little ironical to reflect that, had they not gone in 1961, Nkrumah, in all probability, would still be in power today. One is thankful, therefore, in retrospect, that Alexander and his men were made to go when they did. Their dismissal was a small price to pay for the dethronement of a tyrant. Meanwhile, the army—not only in Ghana, but elsewhere in independent Africa—is in danger of becoming a major force in African politics. The prospect is not a pleasant one; the parallel with Latin America only too obvious.

The *coup d'etat* in Ghana last February was neither the first, nor will it be the last of similar upheavals. Ronald Matthews, in a singularly well-written book, examines six crises that have hit independent Africa in recent years. In every case, he traces the trouble to an attempt to set up a single-party State under a virtually omnipotent leader. In the very fair concluding pages of his intelligently objective essay, he probes into the underlying question of the various motives at present impelling Africa's political leaders to adopt single-party systems of government. He is wise

enough to leave the reader to draw his own conclusions and the wisest conclusion, perhaps, that can be drawn is that no single answer covers every case. Undoubtedly, many bogus explanations have been given in support of single-party systems of government in Africa. Of all these, perhaps, the two most bogus are those which see its establishment as essential to economic development and/or the promotion of political stability. The exact reverse, of course, is the case. Economic development is measured by the ability of a government to satisfy the needs of the people and that is the last thing as a rule that any dictator does. So far as concerns political stability, all a single-party system does is to drive discussion under ground and replace words with a gun. My own feeling—insufficiently explored as yet—as to the reasons leading politicians to set up single-party system of government, can be simply, if cynically, expressed. It is that lust for power and fear of revenge, which is its consequence, play a great part in this matter. What Professor Arthur Lewis calls cleavage is far too marked in many African countries to allow a multi-party system to survive or, even, to be inaugurated, with any hope of success. But this does not mean that democracy is condemned to die. The really naive are those who identify it with majority rule under a party system. Young independent Africa deserves better thinking of the West than this.

Those who are interested in the background against which the story of independent Ghana must be set would do well to read the story of the Ashanti wars as told by Alan Lloyd in *The Drums of Kumasi*. His book evokes the whole atmosphere of the period. It reveals the Ashanti warriors as the splendid fighters they were: it also shows their darker side. It shows also the overweening Victorian self-confidence—mounting at times to an intolerable arrogance—which the soldiers and proconsuls of the Old Queen took with them as they went foot-slogging with Kipling not only over Africa, but so large a portion of the then relatively unknown and savage world. They gave that world order and justice and their distant bad manners, which took from their own

great grandchildren most of what they had gained. We are not yet at the end of the story. The wheel has a long way to turn before it comes full circle and a just verdict can be proclaimed.

Meanwhile, one notices this in particular about the colonial ventures of the Victorians. They believed passionately in what they did. As Lord Radcliffe wrote earlier this year in a much discussed article in *The Spectator*, "... our foreign and colonial policies cannot fairly be interpreted unless it is accepted that we did genuinely believe that in promoting our conception of freedom we had something of supreme value to impart to others less fortunately situated". This is certainly true. No one is saying for a moment that the colonial record of the Victorians was spotless or their motives wholly disinterested. It would be absurd to pretend that this was the case: discussion of it, moreover, would be irrelevant in this context. Here I am not interested primarily in cleanliness of motive, but simply in this, that the Victorians believed they had something to give. They believed in themselves and their colonizing mission because they believed they had something to give. What, by contrast, does this generation believe in and what has it to give? In comparison with the Victorians I would say, nothing; nothing at all. A considerable portion of what little energy it has is devoted to the mean task of belittling its forefathers. Patriotism, for many, is a dirty word. The few who cling to principles are sneered at as squares. Foreigners refer with pity to the malaise now gripping us as "the English sickness". By this they mean that we are a people without poise or purpose because no longer sure of ourselves.

We did wrong, no doubt, when we were sure. We also did good. We can leave to future historians the discussion as to whether the evils flowing from the irresponsible timidity of our present condition outweigh those which flowed at times from the excessive self-confidence of our Victorian ancestors.

Paul Crane, S.J.

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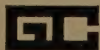
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